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ABSTRACT

Responses were recorded of discussion groups comprising approximately 550 students from 22 schools (grades 7-13) in Toronto, Canada, and surrounding boroughs. Discussions were led by 7 students from Glendon College in Toronto and were structured so that attitudes of the white urban students toward the Canadian Indian could be sampled. Categories of concern which emerged from the discussions on Indians were attitude-forming sources of information on Indians, reservations, culture, education, work and welfare, transition to cities, legal status, Indian Affairs Branch policy, racial discrimination, and definition of Indian problems and general solutions. Analysis of the data indicated a superficial awareness of the problems of the Indian on the part of the students; therefore, it was recommended that educational programs designed by Indians be introduced into the schools to provide at least one period of intensive study of the Canadian Indian for each student. (BD)

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THE ATTITUDES OF TORONTO STUDENTS

TOWARDS

THE CANADIAN INDIANS

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Introduction

This paper is an attempt to characterize the attitudes of white urban high school and junior high school students towards Canadian Indians and their relationship with Canadian society as a whole. The immediate purpose of the report is to fulfill an agreement which we, a group of students at Toronto's Glendon College, made with the federal Indian Affairs Branch when the Branch made a financial contribution to the Glendon Forum on the Canadian Indian in October, 1968. The Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada also urged us to delve into students' attitudes to Indians. However, our research springs more significantly from the concern we ourselves feel about the quality and the biases of the information which white students may be receiving concerning Indians, at home, at school, on vacation, and through the communications media. We did not set out deliberately to prove the existence of unwholesome stereotypes of the Indian (although, indeed, we feared that we might find these); still less did we want to whitewash what hostile feelings and false information do exist. Even though our report does not stand up to rigorous behavioural analysis, we hope it is a faithful and balanced representation of students' real attitudes, intellectual and emotional.

We began with the vague idea of interviewing as many Metropolitan Toronto students as possible about their knowledge

of, and feelings toward, Indians. Seeing the size of the sample we would have to have taken, however, we quickly narrowed our population down to students of Grades 7 to 13. Rather than taping interviews on streetcorners or in drop-in centres, we thought we could most conveniently reach a large number of teenagers by getting permission from teachers and principals to hold interviews during school hours with the pupils in classes or discussion groups. In total we visited twenty-two schools in the City of Toronto and the boroughs of Etobicoke, North York, and East York, in areas with a wide range of ethnic and socio-economic characteristics. We visited academic, technical, commercial and vocational schools, as well as one private school in five, four, three and two-year classes. We omitted Scarborough and York because, lacking sufficient time and manpower, we felt that, of all the boroughs, these would most likely duplicate other areas in ethnic and socio-economic characteristics. With the aid of tape-recorders or careful note-taking, we spoke with approximately 550 students. In classes of thirty or more, as few as twenty per cent of the students might participate vocally; in small discussion groups, participation might be one hundred per cent. Therefore, we estimate that our sample approaches 200 students. The smallest number we talked with at one time was three; the largest, forty-five. We asked teachers who were forming discussion groups to choose students for us at random and not to pick just the "best" or the "brightest", although the fact that most of the students in discussion groups had volunteered might have prejudiced our sample.

We tried to draw students out in conversation to express their true feelings and their knowledge about Indians. Because we did not use a standardized questionnaire or conduct private interviews, every interviewer had a slightly different technique, usually starting off a session with an open-ended question such as "When I say 'Indian', what do you immediately think of?" or, "Have any of you ever met an Indian?" "What was he or she like?" Such questions normally got a discussion going and, although we tried not to "feed" our own attitudes to the students, the interviewers frequently became involved in discussions and therefore we cannot pretend to have been totally objective. We hope, however, that the size of the sample group, the range of opinions expressed and our own desire to reproduce these faithfully have given our results a good measure of objectivity.

We began with no overall plan for the interview. Where a student asked us for information, we gave as much as we knew. Usually discussions developed among students expressing different points of view; occasionally interviews were just a string of fairly disjointed comments thrown at the interviewer by different members of the class. Sometimes discussions were sensitive and subdued; at other times, very aggressive and heated. The interviews lasted for periods as short as twenty minutes and as long as two hours, averaging forty minutes or one classroom period. We realize the brief length of time was a limitation, but we had to be pragmatic. These interviews were conducted by a group of seven interviewers over two months.

After those two months, we spent a trying weekend organizing our taped and noted material into several categories of concern, to which comments or statements students had made could be related. These categories are:

- sources of information;
- Indian reservations;
- Indian culture;
- education;
- work and welfare;
- transition to the city;
- Indians' legal status;
- Indian Affairs Branch policy;
- racial discrimination against Indians;
- definition of the Indian problem and general solutions.

Then with the statements categorized in this way, we assembled the material in this report.

Although we are unfortunately not able to mention them by name, we want to thank the many teachers and school officials who were so kind and co-operative toward us. Among the other benefits of the project, those of us who carried out the research were pleased to be able to demonstrate that relations between high school and college students can be amicable and mutually profitable.

CULTURE

One of the principal aims of our research was to determine how much the students knew about the culture of the Indian people before and after the coming of the white man. The typical response as given by one individual was: "I don't know very much." In the discussions, however, we attempted to get beyond this

and discover what the students really did know. The following comments give an idea of their concept of culture:

> "Kids still think of them with feathers".
> "I think of a big chief with a tomahawk".
> "They were divided into tribes".
> "When I think of culture, I think of people living off the land. I think of the warfare bit".
> "Their culture is not white".
> "They like to be outdoors. They have no set plan".
> "Their outlook on life is different".
> "They don't care about money".
> "I think of paint and feathers and war dances".
> "They are like us, only their colour is different".
> "They had their own religion - medicine men and things".
> "Their religion is supernatural and superstitious".

Interspersed in these quotes are comments concerning ideas of the ancient and modern Indian cultures.

We found that the students had some information concerning Indian culture prior to the coming of the white man. A surprisingly great number were aware of the tribal breakdown of the Indians. When asked to name some of these tribes, a few were able to reply, giving five or six tribal names from the Eastern Woodlands group, but none from the West. Most however, saw the Indian people as one ethnic group. They were a group of primitive savages, dressed in feathers who were famous for their ability to fight. All the students spoke of the custom of scalping. This was always brought up in the form of a joke.

Many defined culture in terms of arts and crafts and a few spoke about language and an Indian way of life. The majority felt that the Indian culture has disappeared. They had no concrete information about the nature of their society. None

spoke of its communal nature and most thought it was principally agricultural. All were aware that the Indians hunted and fished and felt that they were no longer able to do this.

It was very difficult to inspire discussion concerning different cultural values between Indians and Whites. Most were aware of values of different ethnic groups but few allowed the same differences to the Indian people. They had no real body of information from which they could draw points concerning culture. Very few felt that we could learn anything from the culture of the Indian or adopt any of his ways. Many knew little about the Indian's love of freedom, his lack of time orientation, attitudes of parents towards children or attitudes of the Indian to the Whites when the European first arrived. Nor were they aware that some tribes had preserved some of their ancestral traditions in other forms than arts and crafts. Many students, however, were aware that Indians did not adapt well to the work ethic and nine-to-five jobs.

The people interviewed had little idea of the Indian culture as a whole, let alone the social make-up of different tribes. They had no formal information from history courses nor did their own experiences offer any knowledge. We feel that this is an area which should be heavily emphasized in school curricula and could well affect basic changes in young people's appreciation of the Indian.

RESERVATIONS

Attitudes towards reserves were extremely biased. In descriptions of reservations by students who had visited one or been near one, words such as "prison", "concentration camp", "farm", "zoo", "auto graveyard", and "slum", constantly recurred. There was little question that living conditions were miserable, horrible, or "completely impoverished", that, in most cases, electric, sewage, and medical facilities were not up to the white man's standards, that reserves were comparable to, if not "worse than city slums":

> "The sickening smell just turns you right off".
> "A reserve wouldn't be a nice place to visit, let alone to live in".

Except for the Six Nations, Rama, Curve Lake and Parry Island, students were not familiar with reserves in southern Ontario. Invariably, they felt that we (white people) had "shoved them up north and forgotten about them". The majority of students were very vague about the origin of reserves.

While some students knew that Indians have special fishing and hunting rights on reserves, it was generally agreed that there is very little for them to do; it is for this reason, students felt, that such a large number of them drink. Most students who had come in contact with Indians near summer cottages expressed the opinion that Indians are drunkards and thieves; drunkards because when they saw them, they were usually hanging

around the local bar, and thieves because cottages are boarded up for the winter to keep the Indians from breaking in.

On a number of occasions, students did point out not only that the reservations foster drunkenness and theft by the poverty, desolation, and isolation, but that white people are equally guilty of the crimes.

> "It's not that they get more drunk than anybody else, it's just that the only time you see them is when they're drinking".

Although students were acquainted with the existence of reserves, there were considerable misconceptions about the legalities involved. Some believed Indians were prevented by law from leaving the reserves, that they couldn't leave the reserves at night, or leave for the city unless they had a job waiting for them, that they had to ask permission to leave; and that white people couldn't go on reserves. There was very little knowledge about the financial arrangements: Who paid treaty money, how much was paid and how often, who received welfare, what taxes they paid. While the details were rarely clear, however, it was almost unanimous that "the Indians are living off the government".

There were two major opinions expressed about the future of reservations: Maintain them or abolish them. There were those who felt that reservations should be maintained because the Indians have a right to this protection, that it

is only within the secure confines of a reserve where an Indian is "with his own people on his own land", that his culture will be preserved. For this reason, a great deal of money should be poured into improving the conditions on the reserves. There were others who felt that reservations should be maintained, but only in order to keep the Indians "out of sight and out of mind". On the other hand, many believed that reservations are not only preventing Indians from the inevitable assimilation, but are making that process more difficult and painful.

> "As far as we're concerned, they're the same useless, dumb, drunken Indians we can take advantage of and push aside. So we do push them aside and give them their reservations which encourages them to fall into a deep sort of depressed state. They're living in a virtual slum. We don't give them any opportunities. We figure it's a great thing to put them on a reserve and protect them".

EDUCATION

When asked what kind of an education Indians receive, most students verbalized an image either of a one-room school house, or of a residential school. They either saw a very poor school with inferior teachers on the reserve, or a far-away school where Indian children were mixed with other children. Not many groups knew the term "residential school" but were aware of the fact that children often had a travel many miles from their home to get to school. In only a very few cases, was the high dropout rate of Indian children from schools at all levels

mentioned. In even fewer cases, was there a sensitivity for the tremendous cultural, social and intellectual adaptation that the Indian child has to make in a residential school.

Many groups suggested that education was linked with the church. Often the point was suggested that Indian schools have inferior teachers and that teachers favour white children over Indian children because they think the Indian children are lazy.

One group said that Indians should be taught in their own language, but that education should give them a picture of our society also. In several cases it was suggested that there should be more vocational and trade training opportunities open to Indian children. An overwhelming number of students saw education and the opening up to new educational facilities as being the main solution to the Indian "problem".

LEGAL STATUS

The groups were generally ignorant of the nature of the treaty agreements made between the British and Canadian governments and the Indian people and the special rights which had resulted. None had received any information in their history texts although some had spoken about the subject in seminars. Many were aware of the controversy at the St. Regis Reserve over treaty rights and it was from this incident that they derived most of their information. A few students felt that the Indian

was "taken" in the treaty agreements because he could not understand the language. Very few students spoke of the treaties as having any major relevance today.

On the subject of the land question, a few students were aware of the Indian demands to settle this controversy. A lot of students said that "we" (Meaning our ancestors) had taken the land from the Indians but did not feel that anything could be done about it today. Many were aware of Kahn-Tineta Horn's demands and were very cynical of them. Neither the treaties nor the land question were particularly significant in the discussions.

WORK AND WELFARE

The students seemed to isolate motivation as the picotal point when discussing work and welfare. There were three dominant attitudes towards motivation of the Indian: many students felt welfare kills motivation in any person dependent upon it for a long time; a large portion of students believed that the Indian is unmotivated because his family situation influences him to be so; they believe Indian families are often much too large. This results in the general neglect of the Indian child who is never taught to be ambitious or competitive. A very few students thought motivation was a cultural phenomenon. They were of the opinion that Indians are not motivated less than we are but differently. This opinion was apparently based

on vague information that Indians have different conceptions and values regarding work and time than white men:

> "They like to work then rest for awhile - its their culture to work like that".

The discussion of work can be divided into two areas - traditional and contemporary kinds of work available to the Indians. Students were aware that Indians are still very much employed in traditional kinds of work. They include in this fishing, hunting, trapping, working as guides, and selling traditional Indian crafts, canoes, etc., to tourists. They talked frequently of how the white men have driven off much of their game or established game laws which restrict Indians from following these traditional means of livelihood on the reserves.

Under contemporary kinds of work for Indians they listed, construction work, mining, steel work, unskilled labour, and farming. Generally, they described the Indians' work as being in the north with the exception of farming and special construction projects on the reserve. They believed the Indians work for lower wages than the whites which generates antagonism between the white and Indian workers. Their general impression is that Indians do not have the skills or education for more specialized or professional employment.

Except for a few particular cases, the students felt the Indians were discriminated against in jobs primarily on the grounds of lack of qualifications for the jobs. They mentioned that Indians probably must speak English to work in

the city or among white labourers. Some knew of specific cases of discrimination caused by the Indians' reputation for unreliability and laziness. The most frequent comments indicated sympathy for the fact that white men had deprived the Indian of the opportunity to provide for himself in the traditional manner and had as yet not balanced the debt with adequate education and training to compete for modern jobs.

The attitudes to Indians on welfare were varied and students sometimes contradicted each other. We noted among students who themselves were part of an ethnic minority, especially those children of recent immigrants, the feeling that since their fathers had had to make it on their own, then Indians too must do it alone. Generally, most students expressed a resentment against special treatment towards Indians and were confused with regard to the types of welfare or "gifts" Indians get.

We noted comments such as:

> "Don't Indians get off paying taxes?"
> "Every Indian gets $10.00 per month from the government".
> "Indians can go all through school free".

Sometimes we met the stereotype of no-good people taking handouts, who then drink the money away.

> "Don't give them money, give them a house or something so they can't spend it on liquor".
> "Indians on welfare are a public disgrace".

But predominantly, the students expressed opposition to welfare based on their concern for its effects on people over a period of time:

> "There's no work for them on the reserves so they're forced to take welfare. Put the money into industry instead and make work for them".

"Indians want to live independently - welfare destroys their initiative and urge to be something".

"Indians don't work that hard and don't really care - they know the Canadian Government will support them and that's pretty silly".

INDIAN AFFAIRS BRANCH

We discovered primarily either blatant ignorance on the subject of the Indian Affairs Branch or a very negative feeling towards its aims and effectiveness. Many students were totally unaware of the purpose or services of the Branch or the existence of the Indian Act. More often the Branch was referred to obliquely as "the government".

"The government has shut them up on reserves and forgotten about them".

"The government hands out money and clothes".

"The government provides poor schools far away from the reserve and gives them poor, white teachers".

"The government has covered over the bad side of the Indian problem but the public listens to the government not to the Indians' side".

The students didn't have any knowledge about government agencies, such as the friendship centres, to aid Indian transition into the city. Very few referred to the new policy proposal of June, 1969. The overall image on the government emphasized its roles of welfare distributor and protector. Both roles were seen as outdated and demoralizing.

"The government has taken the Indians' personal responsibilities away from him - he needs them back".

"I think Indians should hire their own government and be able to look after themselves. Let them concentrate on their own problems themselves".

TRANSITION TO THE CITY

In discussing the present situation of the Indian, questions were asked concerning the transition which an Indian would have to make when he comes from the reserve to the city. The following are some of the responses to this question:

"It is even worse when they settle in the city".

"The Indian changes completely when he comes to the city".

"In the city, the Indian can't maintain his own language".

"In the city, he suffers from homesickness, he has no one to talk to".

"Indians shouldn't come to the city before they are educated".

"As soon as they get outside, they are rejected".

"Indians try to go to the city but they are scared off because they have no education".

"The problem in the city is that the Indian cannot get a job".

"If the Indian comes to the city, he comes of his own initiative. He gets no outside help".

"They come to the city and we make fools of them".

"Maybe they don't like to live in the city".

"Maybe they'd like to, but they have no money and the government won't let them go".

In general, the students had no conception of transition. Few realized that there were many Indians in cities and

especially Toronto. They only thought of the drunken stereotype which they have encountered around Dundas and Parliament. It took a lot of prodding to get the comments listed above and few realized the great differences between the reserve and the city. No students were aware of any agency program which aided the Indian in this transition. Only students who had had exposure to seminars or films had any information or feelings on the subject. Consequently, the ideas of the students we interviewed were not well developed. Only after we provided some facts did they become aware of the difficulties. They conceived of the change as one from a rural setting to the great, foreboding city and had no idea of the confrontation of cultures. Some students were perplexed as to why an Indian would want to leave the reserve even though most thought of the reserve as a rural slum. Others wondered why the Indian would want to stay on the reserve. Many were aware of the need of the moral support that an Indian would receive in the reserve community and not in the city and how important this was to any individual. This partially solved their dilemma.

In groups where there was a great deal of ethnic representation, the students felt that the Indian would have difficulties similar to any immigrant. In general, the kids were sympathetic at the end of the discussion and felt the Indian would need help in this transition.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

In many of our discussion groups, a quite conscious effort was made on the part of the leader to have the students verbalize their attitudes towards Indians and then examine the source of these attitudes. Some students had met Indians and almost always the attitude was, "They're no different from us". Many students had visited reservations, (Brantford, Peterborough area, Rama, Parry Sound area, Caughnawaga were mentioned) or had had other personal experiences with Indian people.

The main source of information acknowledged by the students is television. Some of the comments of the students show how they view the television image of the Indian:

> "Television shows the Indians always losing. It makes them look really wild and bad; it makes us think they are poor fighters".
>
> "Television shows wagon trains, Indian attacks, bows and arrows, feathers and pom-poms".
>
> "Sometimes television shows Indian Affairs specials, but its put between John Wayne and Broken Arrow".
>
> "Television is the Pied Piper; people just follow along".

Many of the students had seen the Pierre Berton series of interviews with Canadian Indians. Although they did not remember names, they had general ideas about the questions discussed. Some students had seen Kahn-Tineta Horn on Under Attack, and many others knew of her from the newspaper coverage of the St. Regis Jay Treaty affair. Although almost all the students said they were "turned off" by Kahn-Tineta Horn, they were all aware of the land question because of their exposure to her.

Newspapers, we found, were not nearly as important a source of information as television. Sensational newspaper case histories seem to stick in students' minds from this media. Several groups of students had an awareness of the Six Nations' declaration of sovereignty and of Chief Smallboy's taking off with some members of his tribe to live as his ancestors did.

In discussing sources of information, the students were asked about the type of information they received in their history courses. Most had studied a lot of the Indian culture in Grade six or seven but felt that it was very sparse. A large number of kids spoke of the Iroquoian massacre of the Jesuits missionaries and the shrine at Midland. One boy said that they studied "Mostly mean and nasty things". One girl said that "they only teach us what was going on one hundred years ago". Another said, "We never see the good side of it". Many kids spoke of studying the fur trade and how the Indians hunted the animals to supply the white traders. Some connected exploitation with this subject and others spoke of "firewater". Warfare and the fur trade were the two major areas taught to them in their history courses.

This group, however, does not include kids who have been exposed to a more intense educational experience through seminar discussions, films, visits by Indian people, independent research projects, etc. These were organized independently by enthusiastic, inspired teachers. We found that students were

better informed and more sensitive after even a brief course of this type which dealt with the modern Indian in terms of the Canadian society. All these courses, however, were organized as a result of the independent initiative of teachers and are not a part of the curriculum in most schools. In all cases, the type of information (especially written for school-age kids) is just not available.

DISCRIMINATION

In most of the discussions, we tried to ascertain whether people felt the Indians are discriminated against, if so, why, and what form the discrimination takes. When attempting to summarize these discussions,however, we realized that it was only discrimination and prejudice on a very intellectual level with which we could be concerned; intellectual in the sense that students were rationalizing and hypothesizing on the basis of their impressions. Since few had ever been in a discriminatory prejudicial situation, their opinions reflected things they had heard or read, not things they had done.

By far the outstanding discriminatory stereotype projected is that of the drunken, lazy Indian. The kids felt there were a number of reasons why this particular stereotype was established and is perpetuated.

The reserves and governmental paternalism have done much to foster this image:

> "If you give Indians everything, you're eventually going to stifle them.....It really bothers a person .....He gets lazy".

Indians have had a lot of responsibilities taken away from them; they have been "taken care of" by the government. But we must give these responsibilities back to enable the contemporary Indian to "find a place in society" and eradicate this image.

It was almost unanimous that television is most instrumental in creating the perpetuating this particular stereotype. For instance:

> "People don't feel Indians are ready to take a place in Canadian society....T.V. makes it look that way".

> "Kids really believe what they see on T.V. It's drilled into them from the time they are born that Indians are bad".

The image of the drunken, lazy Indian seemed to be the basis for job discrimination. A number of students felt that the jobs which Indians get are the "worst" ones, that they were easily exploited by employers, particularly in the north where they would work for far lower wages than anybody else. Frequently, students voiced the opinion that "employers think they're drunkards and won't hire them".

There was some dissension whether the particular reason for job discrimination was to be found in the lack of education or the colour of their skin. Some felt that it was because they received little education, that they had to go to residential schools, that the fear and apprehension of the parents about white influence frequently prevented children from staying

in school, and that the facilities and teachers were generally of a lower standard than those of white children, that Indians were just not trained or qualified to do anything but the "worst" jobs. There were also those who felt that Indians are biologically inferior, that "there is something in Indians which prevents them from learning and from being able to drink".

On the other hand, there were a few who maintained that the reason for discrimination could be found in the colour of their skin. Some of the opinions expressed are as follows:

"We're prejudiced about anybody who has a different colour skin".

"Any colour other than white means you're lower class - you just can't change it".

"As soon as an Indian family moves unto a block, you'll see the for sale signs going up".

In our discussions about whether Indians do have or should have special minority group status, a large number were of the opinion that Indians had been given special status for too long. They strongly advocated that the Indians assimilate as quickly as possible. Examples of such opinions are as follows:

"Indians have to adopt the Canadian way or the English way. After all, we are the majority".

"The Indians should keep their culture, but be included with everyone else".

"If they did conform to our way of life, it would be better for them".

"They were conquered; therefore they have no special rights".

"You get to the top by working and if the Indian doesn't work, he's not going to get to the top".

"You don't have to lose your culture - only if you want to...But gradually it will happen".

On occasions where a number of ethnic groups were represented, the kids were adamant that if the government were to discriminate in favour of one minority ethnic group, they had to do the same for all ethnic minorities.

On many occasions students complained that they really didn't know much about the Canadian Indian; many felt there should be more taught about Indians in history courses. The students' overwhelming ignorance of and inability to relate to the contemporary Canadian Indian is reflected in the following quotations:

> "Most people don't get a chance to discriminate because Indians don't live in suburban areas".
>
> "We never hear about Indians at all, never have discussions about them. So we don't have any prejudice against them".
>
> "People think about Indians as they used to be. They don't find out about the Indian today".
>
> "The problem is not prejudice. Its that people don't really care about Indians".
>
> "I don't think the general public is prejudiced about Indians. I think they just don't know about Indians".

DEFINITION OF THE PROBLEM AND SOLUTIONS

There was a very mixed reaction on the part of the students we talked to when we asked them, "What is the Indian problem"? Several students did not consider that there was a problem at all: "Its not a major problem now. It doesn't concern

me. It doesn't concern the rest of Canada". Most of the students considered the Indian situation as a problem of some importance to the whole of the country, however. The "problem" was usually defined in terms of "a backward people who need to catch up", "poor and unhealthy living conditions", "no place in our society", and sometimes, but not too often, in terms of land and legal status. Only once or twice was an attempt made on the part of a student to define the problem in terms of conflict of values and of culture. In the vast majority of discussions, the Indian problem was compared to the problems of other ethnic minority groups. Often it was stated that we owe the Indians no more help than we owe others coming from one culture to another.

We found many varying opinions, also, when we talked about solutions to the problem. There were some notable trends, however. Most students saw no future for the Indian people on the reservations, separated from the rest of society. Time and time again, we heard such comments as:

> "we've got to come together".
>
> "They've got to start coming into the city, participate as true citizens".
>
> "If he doesn't change, he won't survive. Nobody is going to change for him. He is going to have to do the changing".
>
> "If they get out of the reserve before they are sixteen, there is hope. If they wait until later, they are dead".
>
> "They can only retain their culture and heritage by becoming prosperous. They can only achieve this in white man's society".

"If they want progress, they should come into the city to help themselves out".

Welfare as a solution was mentioned often, but it was a general conclusion that welfare was only a temporary solution and that creation of jobs would be better in the long run.

When discussing solutions, blame for the present situation is an ever-present trend.

"Canadians do not allow the Indian to take a pride in his culture. Canadians want everyone to integrate".

"No matter who you are, if you achieve something, people will look up to you; but if an Indian doesn't work, how's he going to get to the top"?

"We, the whites, have prevented them from assimilating when they want to".

"They want to be like us; we haven't let them".

"They've got to learn to give a little before they get".

"How can you expect us to help them when they won't help themselves. A 'man' will always find ways to get ahead".

"Its not the Indians who make the trouble; its the white people that bother them".

"We don't give them a chance".

"We give them no means to move into our society".

Blame is fairly evenly divided between the white society and the Indian, in the survey as a whole, but the individual student usually placed the blame either on the shoulders of white society or on the shoulders of the Indian people.

Because of this trend, in fixing blame, individual students came up with concrete solutions according to which side of the fence they sat on. For many students the solution

lay in giving the Indian people access to more and varied education opportunities.

> "We need to train them. They need a place in society. They get their purpose in life through training. Give them more responsibility and their morals will go up".

> "The facts stand. We have got the country. They must live as best they can with what they have got".

> "Indians should have more equal rights than Negroes in the United States, because they were here first".

> "Indians really own the land, and should be ruling, but who will give it up?"

> "We can't be blamed for our ancestors".

> "We must forget about the past and work towards the future".

Some students saw a solution in terms of "you have to educate the public in this matter. You can't just take the Indian off the reserve". A form of solution which came up only a few times was Red Power, demonstrations, and segregation. All of the students we talked to dismissed the possibilities of Red Power and demonstration, although one student said vaguely, "The Indian will be like the Negro in a few years", and very often an Indian-Negro analogy was drawn. Several students, predominantly those aware of the reservation as a close-knit community with common heritage and common culture, admitted that a solution might be separation: "We should give them a chance to talk to us: if the government doesn't listen, they have a right to separate". As seen above, the students had an overwhelming tendency to simplify the problem, find one person or group upon

which to put the blame and then prescribe pat solutions. We found very little awareness of the extreme complexity of the problem.

On a more theoretical basis, almost all of the students were initially unaware of a distinction between assimilation and integration. Upon further discussion of this topic, it seemed the general concensus that integration was virtually impossible because the white society is so much stronger than the Indian society and it forces the Indians to assimilate.

In summary, we found that the students had a superficial awareness of some areas of the "Problem". They know about reserves, Kahn-Tineta Horn, and social problems of drunkenness and poverty. They saw the Indian as a minority group, but one no different from any other ethnic minority. Few were aware of a different legal status or special rights. Although they had a sense of the history of the Indian people in confrontation with the whites, they had no understanding of a uniquely Indian heritage. All students conceptualized "Indian" as a modern social problem and few grasped the complexity of the situation.

Generally, the students sympathized with the Indians but their attitude was more often one of pity. The models of the Indian most prevalent were the stereotypes of the depressed drunk and T.V. savage. The students did not recognize that these very stereotypes can influence their attitudes to the point of creating prejudice in themselves. If any blame was articulated, it was directed either at the government or the Indians themselves.

Although students are eager and willing to receive information and ideas which could eventually change their attitude, allowing for a truly receptive atmosphere, there is a great vacuum in regard to sources of information. Teachers who have set up courses to discuss the Indian have found it very difficult to obtain any information from either the Indian Affairs Branch of the Indian-Eskimo Association. Both these organizations give only general pamphlets and texts which are not directed towards young students.

The aim of the Information Services of the Branch has been to concentrate all its efforts on sending out information to Indians. This information, they believe, may eventually drift down to whites. They offer no information especially designed for non-Indians, other than a few insignificant pamphlets. As a result of this failure to provide essential facts to non-Indians, a state of ignorance exists. In this atmosphere, it is unreal to hope to combat the stereotyped attitude of whites. Consequently, we think it is essential that educational programs designed by Indian people be introduced into all schools so that each student is exposed to at least one intensive period of study on the Canadian Indian. Here are the needs as we see them:

(1) Indians be encouraged to write about their own history and culture and their social problems as they see them.

(2) Immediate preparation of a study program directed to at least three different levels within the school system. This program would consist of a basic text

which is sensitive to the Indian people (such as that written by FRASER SYMMINGTON entitled "The Canadian Indian", published by MacLean-Hunter), extensive use of films such as those in the "Challenge for Change" series, tapes of Indian chants and legends, discussions involving Indian people within the schools, and visits to reserves upon the invitation of the residents of the reserve.

Thus, an extensive, coherent programme would be implemented through the history or social science curricula in all schools.

(3) A list be compiled of Indian newspapers and magazines such as "Indian Magazine" to which the students could subscribe.

(4) Programmes on the Indian be developed to be used on educational and closed circuit television.

(5) Production and use of films especially designed for various age groups be increased.

(6) The Indian-Eskimo Association and the Indian Affairs Branch be pressured to hire at least two full-time persons, preferably Indian, to develop this programme and co-ordinate its implementation into the schools, and,

(7) The Department of Education of the Province of Ontario be urged to co-operate by offering money and resource persons to aid the establishment of this programme.

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